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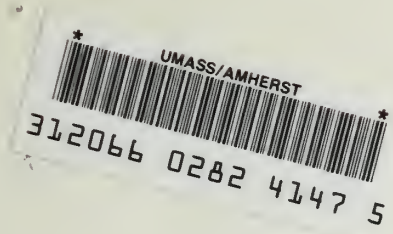

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WORK RELEASE IN AN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING: THE EXPERIENCE AT MCI CONCORD

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ABSTRACT

As part of its emphasis on the reintegration of the offender into society, the Massachusetts Department of Correction has expanded its work release programs which allow residents to work in the community while serving their sentence. The purpose of the present research was to evaluate the rehabilitative effectiveness of a work release program in an institutional setting (MCI Concord). Base Expectancy rates were calculated for a sample of 109 individuals who are identified as successful work release completers in an effort to assess whether successful completion of the work release program while incarcerated would significantly reduce the recidivism rates of participants after their release into the community. Since the difference between the recidivism rate that was expected for work release completers (32%) and their actual recidivism rate (19%) was found to be statistically significant, it was concluded that the successful completion of the work release program did favorably affect the reintegration of the offender into the community by reducing recidivism rates. A differential recidivism analysis of this work release sample revealed that participants who had experienced fewer court appearances and who had spent less time incarcerated were less likely to recidivate after release into the community.

A sample of 196 individuals who had participated in the work release program while at MCI Concord were divided into work release completers and work release non-completers for the purposes of identifying any specific characteristics that distinguished one sub-sample from the other. A multivariate analysis revealed seven variables that differed between work release completers and non-completers, particularly concerning employment history and previous arrests. These variables were used for a profile of work release non-completers that could be valuable in future selection criteria.

A major goal of community-based correctional programs is to facilitate the re-entry of the offender into a society which had previously condoned his incarceration. The work release program is one such effort, providing a middle ground between parole and traditional incarceration by temporarily releasing offenders into the community for paid employment, volunteer work, or other vocational training. Inmates selected for this program are allowed to work outside the confines of the institution during the day in regular civilian employment. These inmates are then required to return to the correctional facility during non-working hours; in some instances, inmates on work release are allowed to live in special dormitories outside the institutional walls.

The bridging concept underlying work release enables the inmate to establish links between life in prison and in free society through normal interactions in the community. Besides being allowed a certain amount of freedom, the inmate gains a renewed feeling of self-respect and economic responsibility by using his wages to pay "room and board" while in prison, to support his family, or to repay any debts incurred prior to his incarceration. The inmate also faces the possibility of ending his prison term with a job and/or substantial savings waiting for him upon release.

Although the current concept of work release was only established in Massachusetts during the last decade, community work programs in this state actually date back to the "indenture law" of 1879 which allowed female inmates at Framingham to leave the institution for set periods of time for domestic service.

It was not until 1968 that work release was extended to other institutions with the establishment of the "day work" program at MCI Concord. Program participants were allowed to live in a special reintegration residence located outside of the institution, thereby providing the inmate with limited supervision, but allowing him to perform in a role more compatible with life in the community.

With the passage of the "Correctional Reform Act" of 1972 (Chapter 777), work release programs were put into their proper perspective as part of the community-based rehabilitative process. Eligibility guidelines were set to regulate participation in community programs and included all inmates who were within 18 months of their parole eligibility. Although this law extended the eligibility for male inmates who previously could not participate unless they were within six months of their parole eligibility or

if they had committed crimes against the person, it actually restricted program participation for women. Prior to this law there were no limitations for women with regard to the 18 month time restriction. Nevertheless, with the enactment of the Correctional Reform Act, work release programs were firmly established in this state. At the same time, work release programs were extended to prison camps and pre-release centers with the same restriction that inmates had to be within 18 months of their parole eligibility date. The residents return to their respective forestry camps or pre-release centers during non-working hours, and are not separated from other residents who are not participating in work release.

Historically, work release dates back to the 18th century when prisoners in the British Empire were given a chance to earn their release from prison and inmates in the United States were allowed to work to pay for their incarceration. Subsequently with the passage of the Huber Law in Wisconsin in 1913, work release programs were seen as a possible means of rehabilitation, giving the inmate a certain sense of responsibility. Nevertheless, it wasn't until the 1960's that these programs were begun in other states throughout the country. A positive rehabilitative effect of such programs, however, has not yet been proven. In fact, considering the relative importance of work release programs in the modern concept of community based corrections, there have been relatively few studies evaluating the post release performance of previous program participants.

An early study in California (by Wachs and Adams: 1965) showed no difference in the proportion of non-work releasees and work releasees violating probation. However, less work releasees were unemployed five months after release, and they adjusted more fully to the community and to supervision.

A study of parole revocation in North Carolina (Johnson: 1969) showed no significant difference between parolees who had experienced work release and those who had not, but work releasees did gain access to better jobs.

Higher recidivism rates in former work releasees were found in a study by Adams and Dellinger in Washington, D.C. (1971). It was suggested that these results were due to the "high risk" nature of the work release group, although there was no attempt to control for differences in characteristics among the two groups.

In an 18 month follow-up of former work releasees in California (Rudoff & Esseltyn: 1973), it was found that work releasees had generally fewer arrests and those convicted spent fewer days

incarcerated than non-work releasees. These results, however, were not statistically significant.

Jeffrey and Woolpert (1974) in a four-year follow-up of work releasees in California, found that work releasees were convicted of fewer crimes, but that the benefits in reduced arrest rates diminished over time. The greatest effect on recidivism was for those inmates who were young, unskilled, unmarried, members of minority groups, with sentences of less than 30 days.

An evaluation of the post release effects of the Connecticut Work and Education Release Program on participants (Stowell: 1974) revealed a slight, but non-significant advantage for work releasees in terms of reducing the rate of return to prison, reducing the number of subsequent offenses, and reducing the seriousness of subsequent offenses. There was a significant advantage for work release participants if prior to incarceration they were unemployed, claimed no skill or trade, and were incarcerated for periods of six months or less.

A later study in California had particularly negative findings. Bass (1975) reported that a follow-up study of men released to parole in 1969-1970 showed that work furlough increased the time served in prison for the program's participants, and that the program did not have a positive effect on recidivism. In fact, seen as a total program in itself, work release increased parole failure.

A follow-up study of previous work release participants in North Carolina (Witte: 1975) revealed that work release had no effect on the length of time until return to criminal activity, the percent of men who do return, or the frequency with which they participate in criminal activity. However, men who were not on work release had a greater probability of returning to prison for a felony than those who participated in work release.

A recent empirical evaluation of work release in Florida (Waldo and Chiricos: 1977) found no significant differences between work release or control groups on 18 measures of recidivism. The study also found that length of time on work release was not consistently related to recidivism.

It would appear, then, that there is no significant evidence from evaluations of work release programs in other states to support the contention that participation in a work release program while in prison will reduce the rate of recidivism upon release.

Research studies have been carried out concerning the effectiveness of work release programs in Massachusetts correctional facilities. An evaluation of the day work program (prior to Chapter 777) at MCI Concord (LeClair: 1972) showed that former work releasees did not have a significantly lower rate of recidivism than comparison groups who had not completed the work release program. In fact, work release had a negative impact on inmates who had serious disciplinary records, who were under 25 years of age and had extensive records, and who had served 1-17 months in an institution prior to being committed to Concord.

The guidelines for the work release program changed slightly in 1972 when the Correctional Reform Act extended the eligibility requirements for work release by including residents who were within 18 months of their parole eligibility date, rather than the previous requirement of 6 months. Another change in eligibility requirements was the inclusion of those residents convicted of an offense against the person, who had previously been excluded from participation in such programs. The purpose of the present research, therefore, is to assess the impact of the work release programs in Massachusetts, as defined by the Correctional Reform Act of 1972, to see what effect, if any, work release has on recidivism rates of previous program participants.

The first test of work release under the new eligibility requirements was a study of the coeducational facility at MCI Framingham (Carney: 1975, 1976, 1977). This study indicated that work release programs had a positive effect on recidivism rates of the inmates.

Since it would be difficult to isolate the "treatment" effects of work release from the effects of forestry camps and pre-release centers, themselves, it was decided to restrict the study at this time to an evaluation of the effects of institutional work release. "Institutional work release" is defined for the purposes of this study as a work release program for residents of a maximum security institution who are separately housed outside the walls of the institution, but under strict supervision (as opposed to the minimal supervision of a pre-release center).

Although MCI Framingham has a work release program, it was eliminated as a possible institution for this evaluation since its coeducational nature and minimum security status could both enter as intervening variables in the analysis. MCI Concord and MCI Norfolk both meet the criteria for the proposed evaluation. The present study will assess the effectiveness of the work release program at MCI Concord; the program at MCI Norfolk will be evaluated at a later date.

The primary goal of this study is to evaluate the rehabilitative effects of an institutional work release program. Since a previous study of MCI Concord using the same design (LeClair: 1972) found no positive impact of work release on offenders, this study will use the same design to determine if work release still has no effect in terms of lowering recidivism rates. The specific research questions to be answered are:

1) Are inmates who successfully completed work release programs less likely to be reincarcerated after release than similar program non-participants?

2) Are there certain characteristics prevalent in work release completers that make them more or less likely to be reincarcerated after release?

3) Are there certain characteristics prevalent in work release completers that may distinguish them from work release non-completers?

To answer the first research question, whether a work release participant is less likely to be reincarcerated, the measure used will be rates of recidivism. For the purposes of this study, a recidivist will be defined as any person returned to prison either state or federal, or to a jail or house of correction for a period of 30 days or more within one year after that person's release into the community.

To control for the possibility of selection bias in the work release sample (for instance, in case low recidivism risk residents are consistently chosen to participate in work release), Base Expectancy Tables will be used as a means of comparison. In this way, expected recidivism rates of the work release completers can be constructed and compared to that sample's actual observed recidivism rates, as well as comparing those expected recidivism rates with the expected recidivism rates of the work release non-completer sample.

The second research question deals with whether or not there are different types of offenders who are more or less likely to be successful in having lower recidivism rates after participating in the work release program. If a certain type of offender were to be identified as likely to benefit from this type of program, it would greatly aid administrators in developing selection criteria for future work release or other such correctional programs. Multivariate analysis will be used to determine these criteria by means of statistical significance using the following variables: 1) social background variables, 2) criminal history variables, 3)present offense, 4) present incarceration, 5) recidivism, and 6) work release variables (such as amount of time spent on work release, reason for termination, etc.).

These background variables will also be used to answer the third research question which will attempt to identify characteristics that distinguish work release completers from work release non-completers. Those variables that yield statistically significant differences between sub-samples will be used to develop a profile of work release non-completers that could be used in future administrative decisions regarding work release.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Samples:

Work Release Sample: The work release sample consisted of all individuals who participated in the work release program at MCI Concord immediately prior to their release, and terminated in 1972, 1973, or 1974 through discharge from sentence or release on parole into the community. A total of 109 individuals fell into this category.*

* A total of 22 individuals had to be eliminated from the original sample of 131 participants since they were transferred to lower security facilities before being released into the community and therefore the direct effects of work release could not be assessed. The recidivism rate for these 22 individuals was 18.2%.

1971 Concord Releasee Sample: A sample of 522 individuals released from MCI Concord during 1971 was drawn from data existing on Central Office files for construction of the Base Expectancy Tables to be used as a control in this study. Comparisons made with this sample will be particularly interesting in light of the fact that these residents were released into the community prior to the enactment of the Correctional Reform Act of 1972.

Participant Profile Sample: A sample of 196 individuals was selected for the participant profile who had participated in work release some point while serving their sentence at MCI Concord, and who were released into the community during 1972, 1973 or 1974. A total of 109 individuals, or 55.6% of the sample were identified as "work release completers" which refers to those individuals who participated in the work release program and terminated successfully through discharge from sentence, or release on parole into the community. The remaining 87 individuals (44.4%) were classified as "work release non-completers", which is defined as those residents who participated in work release but were returned to within the walls of MCI Concord for disciplinary reasons, either by employers or by institutional authorities. By this definition of "non-completers", only those residents who terminated for a negative reason are included in that group, and therefore the two sub-samples can be seen as successes vs. failures in terms of completing the work release program.**

** A total of 9 individuals had to be eliminated from the original participant profile sample of 205 since they did not fit into either of the two sub-samples. These residents were terminated from the work release programs before they were released, but for a non-negative reason (e.g., injury, or to attend school) and by definition could not be classified as completers or non-completers. The recidivism rate for this group was 11.1%.

Procedure:

Data collection: Variables used in this analysis were collected from the computerized data base of the Massachusetts Department of Correction and consisted of commitment, social background, and criminal history variables. Additional information pertinent to the work release program was collected from files at MCI Concord, including length of time on work release, place of employment, and reason for termination. Recidivism data was obtained from Central Office files to determine whether each individual was a recidivist or non-recidivist, and this information was added to the data base.

Base Expectancy Tables: The possibility exists that a selection bias occurred in assigning residents to work release programs. In this case, a low recidivism rate for the work release sample may actually reflect the fact that mainly residents who were considered low recidivism risks were chosen for the program. To control for this non-random selection, Base Expectancy Tables were used. The control group of 522 individuals released from MCI Concord in 1971 were classified into risk groups on the basis of which characteristics contributed most to the known recidivism rates for the control sample. The work release sample is then divided into the same risk categories so that an expected recidivism rate can be calculated. This expected rate is then compared to the actual recidivism rate of both the work release sample and the control group. Statistical tests of significance on these rates will reflect whether or not an actual selection bias had occurred or whether the recidivism rates of the work release sample are a valid measure of the effect of participation in the program on subsequent criminal activity.

RESULTS

Recidivism Analysis

Of the 109 individuals who successfully completed their work release program, 21 recidivated during the one year follow-up period, resulting in a recidivism rate for that sample of 19.3%. This figure appears relatively low when compared with the recidivism rate for the sample of 1971 MCI Concord releasees (28%). This difference was, in fact, found to be statistically significant ($X^2=4.12$, 1df, $p < .05$). The recidivism rate for the work release sample also appears to be much lower than the

recidivism rates for the overall MCI Concord releasees population through 1974. As can be seen in Table I, the recidivism rates for the years 1971 through 1974 have remained in the range of 26-27%.

TABLE I

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR WORK RELEASE SAMPLE AND TOTAL MCI CONCORD RELEASEE POPULATION

SAMPLE	RECIDIVISM RATE
Work Release Sample	19%
1971 MCI Concord Releasees	28%
1972 MCI Concord Releasees	27%
1973 MCI Concord Releasees	26%
1974 MCI Concord Releasees	27%

As mentioned previously, the relatively low recidivism rate for work release completers may actually be due to selection of low risk individuals for that particular program. For purposes of comparison, a Base Expectancy Table was constructed on the control population so that risk categories could be identified. This table is presented in Table II, and the seven risk categories are listed in Table III in order of their level of recidivism risk.

In order to control for selection factors, the base expectancy table was applied to the work release completers sample. It was determined that one year after their release. The actual recidivism rate for that sample was 19.3%. Since the difference between the expected recidivism rate and the actual recidivism rate was found to be statistically significant ($X^2=7.78$, 1df, $p < .01$), it can be concluded that successful completion of the work release program while incarcerated significantly reduces recidivism rates after release.

TABLE II

BASE EXPECTANCY TABLE

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="6">1971 Concord
Releases
N = 522
RR = 28%</td><td rowspan="3">4 or More Arrests
for Property
Offenses
N = 329
RR = 35%
(X^2=20.30)</td><td rowspan="2">Length of Incarceration
32 Months or Less
N = 239
RR = 41%
(X^2=12.19)</td><td>Some Prior Paroles (Adult) N = 85
RR = 54%
(X^2=10.02)</td></tr>
<tr><td>No Prior Paroles (Adult) N = 154
RR = 33%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Length of Incarceration
33 Months or More
N = 90
RR = 20%</td><td>Type of Release Paroled N = 43
RR = 30%
(X^2=5.39)
Type of Release Discharged N = 47
RR = 11%</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">3 or Fewer Arrests
for Property
Offenses
N = 193
RR = 17%</td><td colspan="2">Heroin Use
N = 140
RR = 12%
(X^2=7.26)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">No Heroin Use
N = 140
RR = 12%</td><td>2 or More Prior Incarcerations
N=41
RR=22%
(X^2=6.34)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1 or Fewer Prior Incarcerations
N = 99
RR = 7%</td></tr>
</table>

TABLE III

BASE EXPECTANCY RISK CATEGORIES

CATEGORY NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	RECIDIVISM RATE
I	Four or more Property Offense Arrests, Incarcerated 32 months or less, Some Prior Paroles	54%
II	Four or more Property Offense Arrests, Incarcerated 32 months or less, No Prior Paroles	33%
III	Four or more Property Offense Arrests, Incarcerated 33 months or more, Paroled	30%
IV	Three or Fewer Property offense Arrests, Heroin Use	28%
V	Three or Fewer Property Offense Arrests, No Heroin Use, Two or more Prior Incarcerations	22%
VI	Four or more Property Offense Arrests, Incarcerated 33 months or more, Discharged	11%
VII	Three or fewer Property Offense Arrests, No Heroin Use, one or fewer Prior Incarcerations	7%

Those residents who did not complete the work release program were not included in the recidivism analysis since they did not receive the full benefits of the program. However, it might be of interest to assess the recidivism rate of those residents who participated in the work release program but did not terminate in a successful manner to see whether it was the actual completion of the work release program that helped reduce recidivism rates.

Out of a sample of 87 individuals who participated in the work release program but were returned to within the walls of MCI Concord for a negative reason, 21 individuals were reincarcerated within a year after release into the community. The recidivism rate for non-completers, therefore, was 24.1%. This figure is higher than the work release completers, but when compared with the rates of the overall releasee population in Table I, it can be seen that work release non-completers had lower recidivism rates than the general releasee population.

When the base expectancy risk categories were applied to this sample of work release non-completers, an expected recidivism rate of 33.0% was calculated. This expected rate was then compared to their actual recidivism rate (24.1%) and this difference was not found to be statistically significant ($X^2=3.10$, 1df, $p > 05$). This gives further evidence that it is the successful completion of the work release program that significantly reduces recidivism rates after release.

It can be noted that since the difference between the expected recidivism rate for the work release completers (31.7%) and the expected rate for the work release non-completers (33.0%) was not found to be statistically significant ($X^2=.02$, 1df, $p > .05$), it can be concluded that the two samples had similar recidivism risk potential.

The expected and observed recidivism rates for both of these samples can be seen in Table IV.

TABLE IV

EXPECTED AND OBSERVED RECIDIVISM RATES FOR WORK RELEASE COMPLETERS AND NON-COMPLETERS

SAMPLE	NUMBER	EXPECTED RATE	OBSERVED RATE
Work Release Completers	109	31.7%	19.3%
Work Release Non-Completers	87	33.0%	24.1%

Differential Recidivism Analysis

Since the recidivism analysis has shown that completion of the work release program does significantly reduce recidivism rates of previous program participants after they are released into the community it would be of interest to identify certain types of program completers that are more or less likely to recidivate after participation in the work release program. If these variables affecting recidivism rates could be identified, it would greatly aid administrative decisions in the work release selection process.

The differential recidivism analysis did reveal several characteristics where the recidivism rate of the work release sample was significantly lower than that of the 1971 Concord Releasee sample (used here as the control group). This positive impact group could be described as residents who generally had fewer prior court appearances (e.g., notably fewer offenses against property or for narcotics) and who had been incarcerated less time(e.g., no previous juvenile or house of correction incarcerations, or fewer adult paroles). No negative impact group could be identified from this analysis. The specific results of the differential recidivism analysis can be seen in Appendix II.

Participant Profile:

A total of 196 individuals were selected for this analysis who had participated in the work release program during their period of incarceration at MCI Concord and who were released into the community during 1972, 1973, or 1974. One hundred and nine individuals, or 55.6% of the entire sample, were identified as work release com-

pleters, while the remaining 87 (44.4%) were classified as work release non-completers. In order to determine whether there were any specific characteristics that distinguished work release completers from work release non-completers, a multivariate analysis of background variables was conducted on the entire sample. These variables described characteristics of personal background, present commitment, and criminal history, as well as variables relating to the work release experience, itself. For a complete listing of variables used in this analysis, see Appendix I.

Statistical analysis of these variables revealed seven variables that reflected statistically significant differences between work release completers and non-completers, including: Present Offense, Previous Occupation, Longest Period of Employment at One Job, Number of Arrests for Offenses Against the Person, Number of Arrests for Property Offenses, Length of Incarceration, and Length of Time on Work Release. A description of the specific differences between sub-samples is as follows:

1) A significantly higher proportion of work release non-completers were incarcerated during the period studied for an offense against the person. While 48% of the non-completers were incarcerated for an offense against the person, only 30% of the work release completers listed their present offense as a crime against the person ($X^2=6.64$, 1df, $p < .01$).

2) Work release completers showed a higher proportion of individuals whose last previous occupation was skilled, rather than unskilled labor. Twenty-four percent of the work release completers reported their previous occupation as skilled, as opposed to only 10% of the non-completers ($X^2=6.02$, 1df, $p < .01$).

3) Analysis revealed that work release completers had generally spent a longer period of time on one job than had work release non-completers. While 49% of work release completers (excluding unknowns) had worked 6 months or more on one job, 34% of non-completers had spent that much time on one job ($X^2=7.91$, 1df, $p < .001$).

4) A disproportionately higher number of offenses against the person was found in the work release non-completer sample. While 48% of that sub-sample reported three or more arrests for offenses against the person, only 25% of the work release completers could report that many arrests. ($X^2=11.72$, 1df, $p < .001$).

5) A higher proportion of work release completers (20%) had never been arrested for property offenses, as opposed to only 9% of the non-completer sample. ($X^2=4.51$, 1df, $p < .05$)

6) Analysis of the variable Length of Incarceration revealed that work release completers generally spent a shorter period of time in prison. While 76% of the work release completers had spent a year or less in an institution, only 47% of the work release non-completers were incarcerated for 12 months or less ($X^2=17.53$, 1df, $p < .001$).

7) Work release completers were found to have spent a longer period of time on the work release program before being released into the community. While 63% of the work release completers had spent 3 months or more in the program, only 23% of the non-completers had spent this length of time on work release.($X^2=31.72$, 1df, $p < .001$)

In summary, therefore, when compared with successful work release completers, the sample of work release non-completers tended to have had numerous arrests for property and person offenses, perhaps even leading to a greater likelihood of their present incarceration being for a crime against the person. Their previous employment record tended to be for short periods of time and in unskilled, rather than skilled positions. Finally, work release non-completers tended to have spent longer periods of time in prison and shorter periods of time participating in the work release program than did successful work release completers.

DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this research was to assess the rehabilitative effects of participation in a work release program in an institutional setting. The present study of work release at MCI Concord represents the first attempt to evaluate this program since the work release guidelines were revised by the Correctional Reform Act of 1972, and concentrates on institutional work release as opposed to residents who participate in the program while in a pre-release center or forestry camp. Specifically, the study was designed to answer the following questions:

1) Are residents who successfully completed work release programs less likely to be reincarcerated after release than similar program non-participants?

2) Are there certain characteristics prevalent in work release completers that make them more or less likely to be reincarcerated after release?

3) Are there certain characteristics prevalent in work release completers that may distinguish them from work release non-completers?

In answer to the first question, an analysis of 109 work release participants revealed that, after controlling for selection bias, the recidivism rate of the successful work release completers (19%) was much lower than would have been expected (32%). This difference was found to be statistically significant, leading to the conclusion that successful completion of the work release program while incarcerated did favorably affect the reintegration of the offender into the community be reducing recidivism rates.

With regard to characteristics prevalent in work release participants that make them more or less likely to recidivate, a differential recidivism analysis did reveal some indicators of lower recidivism rates. Work release participants who were less likely to recidivate were generally those with fewer prior court appearances and who had been incarcerated less time. This would seem logical that individuals with shorter previous criminal careers would better respond to reintegration into the community.

For the third research question, 109 work release completers were statistically compared to 87 work release non-completers in terms of several background variables. Seven characteristics were found to distinguish the non-completers from the completers, particularly concerning employment history and previous arrests. These variables were used to describe a typical work release non-completer, which might prove valuable in future selection decisions.

When these results are compared to the previous study of the day work program at MCI Concord (LeClair: 1972) it is interesting to note that while the earlier study showed no positive impact of the work release program on reducing recidivism rates, the present study does give evidence that completion of the work release program contributes to lowering recidivism rates after release. One possible explanation of this may be the fact that participants in the earlier day work sample had to be within 6 months of their parole eligibility date. The passage of the Correctional Reform Act of 1972 allowed participants in the present work release sample to be within 18 months of their parole eligibility date. Perhaps the longer time spent on work release by participants in the present study allowed those individuals to get maximum benefit from the program whereas 6 months or less was not really enough time for the work experience to really have any effect.

In fact, when this study is compared to national work release evaluations such as those mentioned earlier in this report, it can be noted that this is the first evaluation of an institutional work release program that suggests a positive rehabilitative effect on recidivism rates of previous work release participants.

The results of this analysis, therefore, do lend support to the probability that successful completion of a work release program while incarcerated will substantially reduce the rate of reincarceration after release. Although work release no longer takes place directly from maximum security institutions, but rather through pre-release centers, forestry camps, and minimum security facilities, it can be concluded that institutional work release was a positive rehabilitative experience for residents who successfully completed the program.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF VARIABLES

1. Commitment Variables

   Jail Credits
   Present Offense
   Minimum and Maximum Sentence
   Age at Commitment

2. Background Variables

   Race
   Marital Status
   Military Service
   Last Civilian Address
   Previous Occupation
   Length of Time at Most Skilled Position
   Longest Period of Employment at One Job
   Last Grade Completed
   History of Drug Use

3. Criminal History Variables

   Total Number of Arrests
   Number of Arrests for Offenses Against the Person
   Number of Arrests for Property Offenses
   Number of Arrests for Sex Offenses
   Number of Arrests for Narcotic Offenses
   Number of Arrests for Drunkenness
   Number of Arrests for Escape
   Total Number of Incarcerations
   Number of Prior County House of Correction Incarcerations
   Number of Prior State or Federal Incarcerations
   Number of Prior Juvenile Incarcerations
   Number of Prior Juvenile Paroles
   Number of Prior Juvenile Parole Violations
   Number of Prior Adult Paroles
   Number of Prior Adult Parole Violations
   Total Number of Paroles
   Total Number of Parole Violations
   Age at First Arrest
   Age at First Drunk Arrest
   Age at First Drug Arrest

4. Work Release Program Variables

   Length of Time Incarcerated
   Length of Time on Work Release
   Place of Employment on Work Release
   Type of Release
   Recidivism Status

APPENDIX II

VARIABLE	WORK RELEASE SAMPLE NON RECIDIVIST	WORK RELEASE SAMPLE RECIDIVIST	WORK RELEASE SAMPLE RECIDIVISM RATE	1971 CONCORD RELEASEE SAMPLE NON RECIDIVIST	1971 CONCORD RELEASEE SAMPLE RECIDIVIST	1971 CONCORD RELEASEE SAMPLE RECIDIVISM RATE	X^2
1) Number of Property Offenses							
A. 6 or less	57	7	11%	234	70	23%	4.67, $p < .05$
B. 7 or more	31	14	13%	141	77	35%	.29, $p > .05$
2) Number of Narcotic Offenses							
A. 4 or less	78	13	14%	331	133	29%	8.11, $p < .01$
B. 5 or more	10	8	44%	42	16	28%	1.80, $p > .05$
3) Number of Drunkenness Offenses							
A. 1 or less	67	11	14%	292	99	25%	4.56, $p < .05$
B. 2 or more	21	10	32%	84	47	36%	.14, $p > .05$
4) Number Of Prior Court Appearances							
A. 10 or less	59	8	12%	244	76	24%	4.55, $p < .05$
B. 11 or more	29	13	31%	129	73	36%	.41, $p > .05$
5) Number of Juvenile Incarcerations							
A. None	71	12	14%	245	82	25%	4.22, $p < .05$
B. 1 or more	17	9	35%	130	65	33%	.02, $p > .05$
6) Number of House of Correction Incarcerations							
A. None	58	6	9%	236	67	22%	5.38, $p < .05$
B. 1 or more	30	15	33%	139	80	37%	.17, $p > .05$
7) Number of State or Fed. Incarcerations							
A. None	66	9	12%	247	83	25%	6.02, $p < .05$
B. 1 or more	22	12	35%	129	63	33%	.08, $p > .05$
8) Number of Adult Paroles							
A. None	63	9	13%	256	81	24%	4.60, $p < .05$
B. 1 or more	25	12	32%	119	66	36%	.14, $p > .05$